1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production
311 of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of
433 the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from
311 two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop.

243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-pric
[438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market--
(489) in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the small-
est and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef,
[491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road.

[251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the
311 Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 244 [134] either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco cultivation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted [221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough [527] [862] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest [251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 244 249 311 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual properties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
• 251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers,
is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
[361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[571] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[476] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[492] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

2s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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[Class C Families]

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the
[263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion
574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends
252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
[476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the
[273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time
• [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
*565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural
[369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even
888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.